

disfranchisement of rebels, which the United States Central Committee have recently declared to be impossible. In a remarkable document, of which we gave some account at the time, the representatives of all the loyal States in Tennessee avowed that their State government rested wholly on military power; that it would go to pieces if that power were withdrawn; that either with or without the troops, the disfranchisement law would prove inefficient; and that the State, if admitted into the Union, would inevitably pass under the control of the rebel majority. How, then, is it possible for the Tennessee Legislature to comply with the conditions required by these resolutions? We regard the terms demanded by the Reconstruction Committee as equivalent to an absolute exclusion of the State from the Union.

THE TEST OF CITIZENSHIP.

In peace much governmental machinery is only ornamental. Particularly in the case of the military. But when war clouds the sky and hears the sea, government assumes new importance. Epulettes take on decorations then, and swords and sashes are no longer only for show and for sham fights. Statesmanship, too, is there, but more than being a statesman, it is a statesman's duty to be a soldier. And our military and civil operations in the first years of the war, proved not only the wisdom, but the necessity of these qualities. The military sign and science under which we were to conquer, were unknown to West Point and Winfield Scott. The political wisdom, too, could alone prevail, was hidden wholly from the most cunning political south-eyers and scoundrels who ever bewildered the people in a fourth of July oration, or a Presidential campaign.

Four years of most savage slaughter, with emancipation, whittled and fire, brought us through the war. Without emancipation we should have been fighting still; or perhaps long since we might have been vanquished by the South. At any period in the struggle, the words Justice and Freedom proclaimed over the land. John Brown with five and twenty men, and with freedom on his banner was more a terror to the South than was ever George B. McClellan at the head of half a million men. He showed the nation that the strength and weakness of the South. The proclamation of Gen. Fremont in Missouri confirmed the value and importance of the grand experiment. After that, we never lost a battle or a life, because we did not know our enemy, and there was the knowledge of his power. Well had it been for us had we known the knowledge gained.

And now to relay our foundations on injustice and blind as was our policy of war. And now we are in a peril. We sacrificed unknown thousands of brave lives, because we would not do justice. And every drop of that blood is bottled in the eternal remembrance. And to-day Congress and the President are prolonging a strife with the God of the oppressed, which makes them greater rebels against Him, than Jeff. Davis and his confederate crew could be against any earthly authority.

Whatever the nation intended by the war, the Divinity that shapes our ends, had a purpose of his own. The South fought for slavery. None doubt it. The North fought for Union; a Union with slaveholders and slavery. None deny that. Both parties were bold alike in avowing their purpose. Both alike gloried in their cause. Chaplains grave and stately, attended their camps. Both observed days of fasting and thanksgiving, in solemn appeal to the same God, ruler of earth and heaven, as victory cheered or disaster depressed them.

But fortunately, for the good of the whole moral and material universe, both parties were discomfited in their leading purpose. Slavery is indeed a headless monster now, but in the death throes his sting-arm still may inflict mortal wounds. Those who even now trifle with it, may pay dear for their temerity. He who would not permit us to close the war without emancipation, is equally pledged to the enslaved that there shall not be permanent peace without righteousness. And the sooner the government in all its departments learns that immutable truth, the better.

These remarks have been called forth by the resolutions offered in the Senate on Monday, by Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts. They might properly be entitled, resolutions to provide for the return of rebel States to the Union, with prescribed conditions. The declarative parts first repeal all the old slave and color codes heretofore existing in those States, and then provide—

That there shall be no discrimination whatever in civil rights or immunities, among the inhabitants of said State, on account of color, race, or descent, or of previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude; but all the inhabitants, without regard to color, race, or descent, or of previous condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, shall have the same right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties and give evidence in all courts and causes, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell and convey real and personal property, and to have the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the protection of person and property, and shall be subject to the same punishment and penalties, as to none other, and that the right of voting for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, for Representatives to Congress and for the members of the State Legislatures, shall be granted by said State to the following classes of persons of African descent, viz: All males of the age of twenty-one years and upward who have been duly enrolled and mustered into service in the army or navy of the United States, who pay a tax on real or personal property, and all males of like age, who are able to read the Constitution of the United States and possess the qualifications required by the Constitution of the said State not inconsistent herewith.

All this is Chickadee warfare at best, if not absolute Bull Run dishonor and defeat. And yet Mr. Wilson is regarded, and justly, as the unconquerable champion of the colored race. But his resolutions are as unworthy of himself as they are unjust to that race, and dangerous to the best interests of the nation. Tennessee is willing to immediately admit to the Union. And yet every possible reason for rejecting the Carolina, exists with greater force against her. She even inflicted upon us Andrew Johnson. And the ship that carries such cargo, should ride at remote quarantine, a whole generation. But in her was the very essence of rebellion sublimated, and the deadly virus still pours through all her veins, in burning hate towards all loyal men, both white and black. Official testimony has confirmed the fact, sealed with solemn oath and affirmation.

The claims designated by Mr. Wilson as alone eligible to suffrage, should condemn the measure. The history of war does not show it to be a good school for the citizen in peaceful life. Man think slavery a bad college from which to graduate into suffrage and full citizenship. Mr. Wilson surely cannot believe war would mend them. Slavery and war are both dangerous elements to human culture and elevation, as he has long known. "Ability to read the Constitution" also, is a questionable test of fitness for suffrage, though most desirable for its proper uses. To speak or read with the tongue of man or of angel, is no assurance of higher qualities "than sounding brass, or tinkling cymbals." Education that comes of hard, honest work, in daily grapple with the stern facts and resistance of human life, is better in a land like this, if only one be available, than mere reading of any book. Reading and all literary culture possible, should be more than encouraged, but not to make voters alone.

And so of tax-paying as a test. A man's life, or value, or fitness to obey, or even make laws, "consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth," any more than two thousand years ago. Men are not to be judged by their wealth. Once a man was rated by his man and maid servants, his oxen and his asses. But it has long been predicted that it should not always be so. Should not Senator Wilson, in this land of boasted Democracy, instead of enacting new property laws, aid us in fulfilling that desirable prophecy?

Nor should suffrage be conferred as a boon, favor, or reward, to soldiers more than others, even were it not a right. Give gold, give land, but not things sacred and holy. Cheaper not the most precious things, by bestowing them unworthily. But suffrage is "not transferable." It is not a gift of governments. No man can give it to another. He has it only for himself. If it did not come with the right to hear, to see, to breathe, it did not come at all, nor had it at all. The right to hear, came with the ears—to see, with the eyes—to speak with the tongue and to breathe with the lungs. And the right to vote, to be a full citizen in

PRINCIPLES, NOT PERSONALITIES.

"NOTHING," says Jeremy Bentham, but laborious application, and a clear, comprehensive intellect, can enable a man, on any given subject, to employ relevant arguments drawn from the actual facts. To employ personalities, neither labor nor intellect is required, close and relevant arguments have very little hold on the passions and serve rather to quell than inflame them, while in personalities there is always something stimulating, whether on the part of him who praises or him who blames.

"Personalities draw aside attention, from the measure to the man." In such an hour as this, when the destiny of the nation is hanging in the balance; wise men trembling at every onward step; the people silently waiting to know what the future, while every Southern breeze is heavy with the sighs and groans of a despairing race, shall the best men our land can boast, stoop from the high places they have so justly held for this nation, to search for motives in each other's eyes?

No! there is better work for Republicans and Abolitionists than to stab those who labor by their side. The republic needs this hour, the best word and work, of every statesman and philosopher, there is no time, or power, to waste in personal bickering.

Admit that Sumner, Stevens, and Phillips, are self-complacent, overbearing, critical, or vituperative, what have we to do with their idiosyncrasies of disposition, so that they lay before the people sound views on government, and clearly point out their duties in the reconstruction. We are passing through a revolution such as the world has never witnessed. In fixing the status of the negro, our civil, political and social institutions are all upheaved, we hear no certain sound in church or state, but here and there a few voices that through these years of conflict have warned the people of their danger. They now tell us, in a true republic, in justice and equality to all, they hold a chart and compass that can pilot us safely through all dangers, that they know the rocks where other ships of states have gone down and where the light houses and harbors of safety are. They tell us that all men, black and white, are created equal. That all men, black and white, should exercise the right of suffrage to protect their lives liberty and property. That it is never safe for a nation to trust any vital interest to the discretion of its rulers. All arguments drawn from the supposed virtues of men in power are opposed to the first principles on which all laws proceed. They tell us, moreover, that the work of anti-slavery statesmen is not done, until from Maine to Louisiana, the black man enjoys civil, political, and social equality. They tell us slavery is not dead, neither in fact or spirit. Our Fathers declared all men equal, and enslaved every African on the continent, in the same breath. Our Constitution is amended, but not a statute law crippling the black man has been repealed through all the Southern States. If slavery is dead, what is Coates talking about? What bills will the President veto? Did Charles Sumner occupy the Senate six hours, merely for the pleasure of making a speech on an abstraction? On all points, the nation needs the thoughts and words of men like these, far more than they need its criticism. If the time should ever come, when the people passively resign themselves into their hands, it will be all important to warn them that they also are human and will abuse their power; but at this time, too, to the nation if it heed not their warning voice. Inasmuch as in a republic the people govern, it is their interest to know the real condition of the country and what measures are necessary to its safety; and it is equally the interest of rulers and politicians to keep them in ignorance—hence their hostility to those who would unveil their plans and purposes. Hence they attack such men as Garrison and Phillips, because they show the people that the power and stability of the government rest on the virtue, intelligence and freedom of the masses and not on the tricks of politicians; that changing organizations are not the government, and it is no matter which party succeeds, as most politicians, by whatever name, seek merely personal aggrandizement and not the real good of the nation. Rulers do not wish to have their plans criticized, nor their blunders discovered, and if the eyes of the people can be fixed on the follies of the men who do these things, their measures will not be considered. No one expects politicians, priests or the popular press to refute arguments, for it is their duty to play on popular prejudices. It always has been a trick with those in power, when wise men of any generation have proposed improvement in legislation, to rouse the fears of the people, lest in any change the government should be overturned. This string was very successfully pulled in the last Presidential campaign, when it was shown that it would not do "to swap horses in the middle of a stream."

What most concerns the people in all their prominent men, is their principles. It does not matter whether Mr. Garrison's resurrection, according to the Herald, is from the infernal regions or from the heaven of Plymouth church and the Republican party. But when he plants himself on the Declaration of Independence and claims to echo the doctrines of the Fathers, why does not the Sunday Times show us exactly where in Jefferson and Garrison differ and the fallacies in his arguments, instead of giving us a tirade on the President's habits. If Andrew Johnson sees fit to take a little wine for his stomach's sake and his own infirmities, keep good Timothy of old, what matters it—if he only keep himself in line with eternal principles, of justice, when sober. His policy of reconstruction is what most interests the nation, though we would suggest that as the gallows has been banished from view for the sake of public morals, national honor might require our chief rulers to remain in their own castles during these periods of humiliation and not publish their shame in telegrams, inaugurals or birth-day speeches. Is it too much to expect that in times like these all men should be just and generous; that principles and not personalities be pressed on public attention; that we appeal to the judgment and not the passions, remembering that dangers beset us on every side?

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had some conversation with the President in respect to it, that he read its concluding part to the President, and was by him directed to file it in the War Department. It was so filed, and was supposed to be there till within a very recent period. It is now stated that search has been made for it, and that it is missing.

THE RADICAL—A MONTHLY, DEVOTED TO REASON.—The February number of this valuable journal contains three articles worthy a thoughtful reading by those who would mould public sentiment in these eventful days.—"James Freeman Clarke on Authority," "John Weiss on the Dangers of our Political Machinery," and D. A. Wasson on the New Epoch in Belief. There is a striking harmony in the facts, and philosophy of these three articles, alike recognizing, in the present upheaving of old customs, creeds and castes, the new and higher life into which the nations of the earth are being born. All point in one direction, the sacredness of industrial life, thought, and action. They recognize no authority for saint or citizen higher than spiritual wants and natural rights. In claiming to be devoted to religion, it is a religion that is to lift up both Church and State into the realm of purity, justice and truth, not a religion to be sent by missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, but to the heart and head of our own republic as the following extract from the pen of the editor in the March number fully shows:

"The next number of this Magazine will be devoted mainly to a consideration of public affairs. But I cannot let the present number go to press, and not occupy the space that is yet left by putting down what I believe to be the truest word that can be uttered. America was never threatened by so appalling a danger as now. Never before was so much power lodged in the hands of a President of this country, with the disposition, openly declared, to use it for evil. President Johnson is a potent, dangerous man. He is animated by a spirit kindred with that which inspired the rebellion. The foe of liberty throughout the land have claimed him from the beginning. They know their own. This is no time to pour oil on the troubled waters. The battle is to be fought out. Not yet is 'LIBERTY' victorious! Nor will it become so unless we are united. America—there remains a public man or party, to question the principles of the Republic. The time to discuss those principles has passed. God and humanity now demand their application!"

THE PRESIDENT'S IDEA OF LOYALTY.—The New York Tribune says: "The Rev. Dr. Bacon of New Haven testifies that Gen. Terry told him recently that if his troops were materially reduced he should be obliged to remove his headquarters from Richmond to Fortress Monroe. In other words, a Major-General of the United States does not think himself safe in Richmond without an army to back him. Yet the President thinks Virginia ought to be instantly admitted into Congress. And we have heard, too, at THE STANDARD office, that Dr. Bacon thinks with the President on that question."

"SACRIFICING PRINCIPLE."—The Oberlin News that was foremost in supporting the claims of the present Governor of Ohio to the office he now holds and dishonors, and that solemnly excused and apologized for his weak, but more wicked letter and speech against giving suffrage and citizenship to the colored man, now says, commenting on "the situation," "If, without any selfish principle, the President can be held in the Union party, all good men will be glad." It is difficult to understand such organs when they talk about "principles."

TO OUR PENNSYLVANIA SUBSCRIBERS.—When we came to this post last Sunday, it was strongly advised by the greater simplicity and accuracy of keeping accounts, that all remittances from Pennsylvania, as well as elsewhere, should be made directly to the New York office, discontinuing the agency for that purpose in Philadelphia. The change so counselled was made, and announced in THE STANDARD. Some appear to have forgotten, or possibly were never aware of it. It should be borne in mind now, that all moneys for THE STANDARD are to be sent directly to the office, 48 Beekman street, New York.

BOOK NOTICES.—Hon. Gerrit Smith has sent us a handsomely-printed tract of 30 pages, entitled "THE TWO LOGIC," which is well worth the purchase of inquiring minds. Though the subjects so ably and so calmly considered are not strictly within the province of THE STANDARD'S mission, there would be strong temptation to transfer some pages to its columns, were they not so continually crowded.

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Board of Commissioners of the New York Metropolitan Police, is a pamphlet of over ninety pages, swollen with statistical and other information, much of it of a thrilling character. Albany: C. Wendell. 1866.

LITTLE'S LIVING AGE, Feb. 24 and March 3, are both unusually attractive. The latter has an excellent article on Richard Cobden; also one on Lord Clarendon as a historian; Fenian Literature; An Evening with Dr. Livingstone and several others.

PERSONAL.

Mr. G. H. Hammond, a teacher of the freedmen in Virginia, is reported to have been assailed by armed ruffians, ducked several times in the Shenandoah, and threatened with death unless he left the place within three days. He was sent out by the American Missionary Association of this City.

It has been ascertained, from authority deemed trustworthy, that Mr. Prince, a clerk in one of the Departments, who was recently suspended for expressing himself hostile to the President's policy and conduct, owes his removal to exertions of Mrs. Cobb, the rebel paven-broker and friend of the President.

The staff officers of Maj.-Gen. B. Saxton have presented him with a splendid silver vase, gold lined, and a silver salver. Both articles inscribed as follows: "Presented to Bvt. Maj.-Gen. Saxton, by the members of his staff, as a token of their affection and regard." Charleston, S. C., Jan. 15, 1866.

A hall was engaged in Washington for Frederick Douglass to lecture in on Tuesday evening last, and a retaining fee paid to make the contract sure. The Democratic owner, on learning that the speaker would be a shade darker than himself, refused to open his hall, and returned the money which had been given him in advance. Legal proceedings will be instituted against him by the Association, and another hall secured for the lecture.

The Washington correspondent of the Worcester Spy says: "Andrew Johnson is an able man; how able I never realized till yesterday. All results are involved in his policy. Had he a cabinet as able and as desperate, the dire results which the war future would bring, could hardly be named now. We stand on the verge of fierce strife, to most which the country should gather its strength and grind up its loins. This man is no weak Buchanan, and he means to crush Congress or be crushed."

A Washington dispatch to the New York Tribune says: "The Massachusetts Legislature has selected the status of Gov. Winthrop, of the Revolutionary Colonial period; John Adams, of the Revolutionary age; and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, as the representative of the struggle for freedom to be placed in the Hall of Representatives, now devoted to State contributions of art." The same writer reports that—as an index of the disloyalty so highly stimulated and encouraged here of late, the portrait of President Lincoln was hanged at the tableaux exhibition at Odd Fellows Hall, given in aid of the poor of the city. Another portrait, that of Gen. McClellan, was cheered.

The Rev. Dr. Demarest, of a very eligible church in Newark, to settle in Chicago. One of the main reasons given for leaving Newark was that he had been desirous of availing himself of the wealth, like material, which he himself. But, alas! literary wealth, like material, will take to itself wings. The case of the American Express Company, in which he was his sermons, took fire, and all were consumed. A wicked wag says it was a burning shame, and wonders whether it was an instance of "spontaneous combustion."

The Christian Enquirer says: "The late speech of Alexander H. Stephens is full of loyal intentions and noble ideas—a compound of admission for the chivalry and respect for the Union; recollections of Fort Warren and hopes of Congressional honor. His advice is sage, but his sophistries are silly." That is about our own estimate of it, and so we have not deemed it worthy

of space in the columns of THE STANDARD. The Enquirer says: "The speech of President Johnson on the 23d is filled with philosophy and nobility. It is too bad in matter and spirit for criticism, and altogether too sad for censure. It shows an irritation, an exasperation and personal bitterness which, however they may palliate the words, are beneath the dignity of the head of a great nation."

A Chicago correspondent of the Boston Congregationalist writes thus one day last week: "Anna Dickinson lectured for two hours last evening, to a crowded audience in Smith and Nixon's Hall, giving her new lecture, 'Flood Tide.' Must we not admit that she is one of those rare, exceptional women, brought forward in Divine providence like the prophetesses of old, like Joan of Arc, for a public life? Such seems to be the conviction of those who hear her, however much opposed in principle to female preaching. Was it ever claimed in Israel, or incited, that prophetesses were 'exceptional women,' merely because they being women could prophesy?"

Ten years ago, says a Louisiana writer, a young mulatto ran away from the plantation of Mr. Charles Ambrose, a sugar lord at Bayou Fouché, La., stealing himself—a piece of property worth a thousand dollars. In the North he amassed a fortune of a quarter of a million. A few days ago he went back to his old home, travelling in open daylight, with a little fleet of blood-hounds and fugitive slave laws as if he were a white man, found his aged father and mother among the freed folk, and settled them comfortably, and presented a cottage and a piece of land to his widowed mistress, whose family had been beggared by the war.

The Barbary Journal, one of the most of the Massachusetts Republican papers, says: "If Wendell Phillips has any share of that almost universal weakness of humanity which rejoices to see events confirm its judgments, he must look with no ordinary complacency upon the present aspect of affairs. Derided and abused almost universally for months for prophesying the apostasy of President Johnson and the return of rebel influences to the chief places of government, he has lived to see his worst predictions more than realized, and many of those who were swift to condemn him acknowledge with confusion their own error and his superior foresight. The fact is—and we may as well confess it—Mr. Phillips has been about the only man who justly comprehended the political aspect. He carefully weighed President Johnson's language to the colored men, and logically reasoned from it the character of the man who gave it utterance. In doing this, he penetrated to facts with unerring insight, and photographed what Mr. Johnson would become even before that functionary himself understood where he was tending. None but a powerful mind could do this. That Mr. Phillips has a powerful mind, we should think it about time for this generation to acknowledge. That there are great faults accompanying it, we freely admit. It is much too one-sided to operate with full justice to its faculties; it is altogether too loose in verifying what it assumes to be facts, and makes embarrassing blunders in consequence; but, spite of these defects, Mr. Phillips has a clear and penetrating mental vision beyond almost any of his contemporaries. He is years in advance of his generation, and, in incurring their hate because of this, he is no exception to the line of prophets in all ages who have preceded him."

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 4, 1866.

The third lecture of the Course now in progress by the Social and Statistical Association, was delivered by Gen. Carl Schurz, who spoke with a vigor, earnestness and great boldness befitting this momentous hour. It is a time for bold and strong words, uttered with fearless resolution; and this noble lecture could not have failed to exert a salutary influence upon the minds of the vast audience, strengthening and deepening their convictions of duty in the dark period through which we are passing. A report of that lecture I sent to another paper, where I trust it will find a good field for beneficent influence.

The fourth lecture of the Course was by Mrs. F. E. Watkins Harper, who performed her part in a manner worthy of the highest commendation. Her frequent illustrations elicited praise for their excellence; her many happy hits and quaint thrusts called forth irresistible applause; and the forcible bluntness of language that clothed her eloquent periods commanded general admiration.

She began by referring to the wonderful changes of the last five years, extending her view back to that period when freedom was nowhere to be found, when even in Independence Hall she had witnessed trials involving the question, whether a man had a right to own that temple in which God had enthroned his soul, or whether it belonged to another. Colored men had stretched forth their hands for freedom in Massachusetts as to a safe refuge, but had been dashed back into the gaping jaws of slavery. Had I dared to go to Maryland, said she, the land of my birth, I might have been arrested for no other crime than simply going into the State, and the second visit might have doomed me as a slave. Now, however, the air that fans my mother's grave is the air of freedom.

She remarked that one great compensation we have received from the war, is that it gives the nation an opportunity to retract its steps, and place itself upon the broad basis of equal justice and universal liberty. It seems as though God had said to us—"I have hidden the secret of this continent for ages in my bosom. I have concealed it as the loveless gem in the corner of the universe. Build me a nation—one that shall make the world better, by its presence, and nobler by its example."

Twice has this glorious opportunity been offered. The first time was when the nation secured its independence. The second now presents itself, and the country trembles in the balance. Mr. Phillips says the "South is victorious." Mr. Garrison says that "Liberty is triumphant." I take the middle ground and say that the conflict is not yet ended.

Mr. Harper reviewed our past history, beginning with the time when our fathers sent forth to the world that glorious emanation of human rights, the Declaration of Independence, which was the best expression of the nation's conscience. She alluded to the great and fatal error of permitting slavery to infuse its leprous poison into the veins of the nation, which, in view of what it eventually led to, was held up as a warning example for to-day. The various triumphs of slavery were instanced, one after another, which carried the nation step by step to the great rebellion. It was necessary to refer to the past in order that we may derive wisdom from its lessons. The same old picture we behold to-day. History repeats itself, and we are lapsing into the compromising spirit. To-day you stand reconstructing the government, and the same temptation comes up to compromise, to lay down this nation, not upon the broad basis of eternal justice, but upon the shifting sands of expediency.

After the Dred Scott Decision she thought the nation had touched bottom. She said she was mistaken. The lowest depth was reached when the nation, after stretching forth its hand in the hour of peril for aid from a feeble race, spurned them in the hour of victory, saying to the black man—you were good enough for a soldier, but you are not good enough for a citizen. The force of her denunciation was increased by the instances of heroism, valor, and sacrifice that were cited, showing, in view of the black man's courage and services, how exceedingly ungrateful and cruel was the conduct of the government toward him. Her rebuke was scorchingly stinging, and her denunciation was pathetically severe. Were I a white man, she exclaimed, I should be ashamed to go down to posterity branded with the guilt and infamy of withholding justice from the colored man.

We have heard that treason was the worst of crimes; but, she asked, would anybody know it? It is safer in this country to be a white traitor than a loyal black man. Andrew Johnson has a very peculiar way of making treason odious.

How the audience enjoyed the manner in which she held this man Andrew Johnson up for ridicule and scorn! She very candidly declared that she did not admire him. He may have in him the elements of a great man, but circumstances have been against him. He has had bad surroundings. Very likely he was badly born. Probably he was badly brought up. He has been a slaveholder. Since he has been President he has been surrounded by strange company, who have

exercised a questionable kind of influence over him. The speech of the 23d I have rather enjoyed. You know I do not belong to any political party, and as you put women, negroes and idiots all together, I have a right to speak out in meeting. I look upon Mr. Johnson's action as being very ridiculous, and scarcely worth talking about. You remember his remark about being willing, in order to save the Union, to send all the negroes to Africa, and have that continent sunk in the depths of the Atlantic ocean! The wretched inconsistency of his course was shown, and how far his actions deviated from his promises and professions.

He once said—"I am ready to have the negroes vote." There was the opportunity, she remarked, the nation's great opportunity to take that opinion and crystallize it into grand and glorious action. What did the nation do? Mr. Johnson said he was ready, but looking over the country, did he find the North ready? No. There was Ohio shirking the issue. With New York and Pennsylvania it was the same old story. Connecticut was denying the negro the ballot after the service he had rendered in the battle-field. But one bright star shone over the gloomy horizon. That was Iowa. She gave a handsome majority in favor of universal suffrage. She had placed upon her brow the laurel that Pennsylvania should be glad to wear.

Mrs. Harper spoke of the repeated disasters that were experienced in the beginning of the war, remarking how success was delayed as long as justice to the slave was deferred. The second election of Abraham Lincoln of blessed memory was the first clear evidence that the Northern people were permeated with justice. After that, Congress caught the inspiration of your action, and guarded to slavery the only privilege to which it was entitled, the right to die. Then came victory after victory. Triumph marked the progress of your armies everywhere. Charleston, which had so long withstood all efforts to possess it, at last, like a ripe apple, fell into your hands, fully ripe and very much rotten! Other cities were captured; success followed success, and the final victory came. Jefferson Davis then buried the Southern Confederacy in the "last ditch," and covered it over with a woman's water-proof!

The secret of your success lay in the right hand of God. You could grasp the victory only when you had snatched the chains of slavery.

What has been the lesson of the war? As you were just, so were you prosperous. You began to reconstruct the Union. It seems as though you were like the Bourbons. Napoleon said they learned nothing and forgot nothing. Do you suppose the mariner would be wrecked on the same rock the second time?

She protested against the negro being put off with scraps of rebel kindness. Nothing could be more cruel or more worthy of severed enemies, than to leave him helpless in the hands of his old master. I do not know how much good judgment we are to have; perhaps we are only going to have the rebels and copperheads united!

The President spoke of the extermination of the negro race. The speaker remarked that, having lived through two hundred and fifty years of slavery, they can most likely live through two hundred and fifty years of freedom, and still extend the time. Andrew Johnson may be strong, but God is stronger. After having passed through this terrible red sea of blood and peril and sacrifice, though Moses may forsake the negro, yet, I do not feel that God will. Mr. Johnson was going to be our Moses! What would you have thought of the great leader of the Israelites, had he set them all to work cutting poles to fish out the foundering Egyptians?

Mrs. Harper gave excellent advice to the colored people concerning the work they have to accomplish in the development of their faculties, the exercise of their energies, and whatever may tend to exalt them in manhood and honor, and elevate them to their proper place among the other races in this Western World.

She warned the people respecting the danger of leaving the great question of the hour unsettled, or in an unsatisfactory condition. You may thus be building ripe-plots under the cradles of your children, and placing magazines of powder under your nurseries. The colored man has seen the light. It would be fatal to press him back into the darkness. You have given him a taste of freedom. He never would be willing to sit down at the feet of the rebels, and take just such measure of kindness as they should choose to give him. The colored people of the South are acquiring knowledge daily. Education is dawning upon their minds. The time may come when some black Washington among them, some William Tell, may show our pathway to freedom. Is it not wiser then for the nation in its work of reconstruction, to accomplish it in such a manner as to make another war impossible?

Ignorant as the colored man was, she considered him a better scholar than his master in his devotion to his country. Ignorant as he was of art, science and literature, he understood the philosophy of the war well enough to know how to gravitate to the Union Armies, and bring the most reliable information to our Northern generals. He knew the difference between the scream of the Northern Eagle, and the hiss of the Southern rattlesnake.

She desired that the Union might be reconstructed on the basis of the principles that vivify the Declaration of Independence, practically acknowledging that "all men are created equal," and extending to all a sure guarantee in support of their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:—Sir: Last Monday evening I attended the lecture of Mr. Francis D. Gage, at Leeson Hall, in this city. It was the first time it has ever been my good fortune to listen to the eloquence of that noble worker in the field of humanity, though for years my mind has followed her career with earnest interest, as one of the first and ablest of the glorious women of our land—a land, thank God! which can boast of more genius, talent and heroism among the fairer sex than all other lands combined. Her subject was, "Life Among the Sea Islands, and Emancipated Labor." The audience assembled early, and was one of the finest ever congregated in Washington, comprising the liberal members of Congress, and, best of all, the workers in and sympathizers with the cause of Human Freedom. On the platform were Rev. John Pierpont, whose white hairs have blossomed with humane and glorious deeds; Speaker Colfax, Representative Julian and Alley, Miss Clara Barton, and many others; while the audience was adorned with the presence of Robert Furris, whose classical face, gracefulness of Robert Fur

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